Emergent Colossus—*Basil Davidson*

THE *Nation*

September 8, 1951

The Battle Bill

Some Reflections From Britain

BY A. J. P. TAYLOR

*

I'm a Baptist, Too

New Thinking on Old Problems

BY WILLSON WHITMAN

*

Oregon Goes to the Dogs

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

DICTATOR FRANCO'S SUCCESS IN SELLING anti-communism for dollars has revived the ambition of every European leader who aspires to the position of "strong man." In Greece that role falls logically upon Field Marshal Alexandro Papagos. As soon as King Paul signed the decree dissolving Parliament and calling for new elections, the old general hurried to save the nation. "Conscious of the gravity of the situation through which my country is passing," he said, "and having weighed my responsibilities to history, I have decided to enter politics." This is a well-known formula which has become as traditional as the "I do" in the marriage service. Papagos's announcement was received enthusiastically in fascist quarters in Athens, but startled other political leaders who are equally ready to save the nation and to make use of as many millions of dollars from America as Congress will be willing to grant. Constantine Tsaldaris, the Popular leader, reacted violently, talking about a "plot." Marshal Papagos made his spectacular entrance on the political scene after resigning as chairman of the General Staff in an open row with the King. His rivals are using this fact to suggest that Papagos's coming to power would be a threat both to the monarchy and to democracy. If it sounds rather odd to hear the Marshal proclaim his desire to be in the front rank of the battle "for the freedom of Europe," it is no less amusing to see M. Tsaldaris, under whose government so many Greek anti-fascists were imprisoned and shot, step forward as the great champion of democracy against possible encroachment of the military. The elections of September 8 will decide the winner in this cynical competition for control of the country and of American dollars.

*

RICHARD NEUBERGER'S ARTICLE IN THIS issue traces the classic scheme of individual and civic corruption which is to be found wherever legalized gambling is tolerated. Quite recently nine members of the Illinois legislature turned up as "stockholders" of the Chicago Downs Race Track Association which operates the fabulously profitable harness races at Sportsman's Park in Cicero. Politicians of both parties were given a chance to purchase stock in the company for ten cents a share which in the next two years paid off at the rate of $1.75 a share. The Speaker of the House, in accordance with the dignity and influence of his office, was allowed to buy 16,900 shares from which he received $27,885 in profits. All of the legislators involved took an active part in pushing a bill through the legislature in 1949 which legalized harness racing at the track.

*

SPORTSMAN'S PARK IS "BOSSED" BY WILLIAM H. Johnston, referred to by the Chicago *Sun-Times* as "an associate of mobsters," who also operates four dog tracks in Florida. With admirable impartiality, Mr. Johnston made it possible for both the Democratic and Republican floor leader, in the 1949 session of the legislature, to purchase 1,000 shares each. Each member of the legislature in Illinois, incidentally, takes an oath which reads: "I have not accepted, or will I accept or receive, directly or indirectly, any money or other valuable thing from any corporation, company or person for any vote or influence I may give or withhold on any bill . . ." The alibis offered by the various legislators have an old-fashioned simplicity about them. Comments the Speaker: "I don't think there is anything in the law against a man making a little investment." Remarks one of his colleagues: "If there was any talk of a payoff when the bill was up, I didn't hear it." More sophisticated statesmen would have promptly countered with the charge that the attempt to "impugn" their motives was communistic in origin.

*

AN INDIAN MAHARAJAH, AN AMERICAN college professor, and a Uruguayan diplomat, sitting as a special administrative tribunal, have handed down a decision which constitutes a sharp set-back to Secretary General Trygve Lie of the United Nations. In a ruling on the appeal of five staff employees whose cases were discussed in *The Nation* of July 28, 1951 (McCarthyism at the U. N.?), the special tribunal has held that the 2,234 members of the United Nations staff of 3,390 who do not have permanent contracts are nevertheless entitled to a statement of the reasons for any dismissal and have a right of appeal. Mr. Lie had contended that

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the right to appeal belonged only to the 1,156 employees with permanent contracts. Having decided the key question, the tribunal will now hear the individual cases of the five complainants. The decision alone will not remove the tension which has been permitted to develop between the staff and the administration, but it does mark a restriction on the encroachment of McCarthyism at the U. N.

*

IF JEFFERSON DAVIS WERE TO TRAVEL through Dixie today he would find that nearly one car out of ten on the highways now flies the Stars and Bars defiantly from its radio aerial. Some car owners drape the rear end of their vehicles with full-scale flags, while limousines seem to prefer diminutive windshield stickers. One Atlanta manufacturer is offering men's cravats embellished with the emblem, and another merchant in the same city is using it as the trade-mark of a fabric known as "rebel blue." The demand for Confederate flags has been steady, of course, ever since the Cause was lost, but a remarkable fervor seems to underlie the current flag-waving. The Atlanta manufacturer who produces most of the Confederate flags in use reports that sales have increased 400 per cent in the last two years but adds: "Don't ask me why." A South-wide chain of service stations adorn their tanks with the emblem and sell large and small flags at 39 cents each, plus tax. Souvenir shops report that the flag is a best seller among tourists as well as home folks.

*

STARS AND BARS BUYERS SEEM TO HAVE IN common a generalized resentment against "everything that's going on": prices, foreign policy, taxes, political corruption, and "uppity" Negroes. Needless to say, the South's eight million Negroes are not buying any Confederate flags, old or new. To them the manner in which the flag is blossoming out these days is a reminder that white supremacy is still the order of the day. Even though the Truman Administration has failed to enact any portion of its civil-rights program, there is reason to believe that the program still serves as the chief bugaboo for demagogic Dixie politicos. While it is doubtful whether the Dixiecrats or Klansmen are directly responsible for raising the Stars and Bars over most of Dixie, there is no doubt that the manner in which the flag is being displayed indicates a climate of opinion that is favorable to both.

*

THE SUSPENSION OF THE TALKS BETWEEN Iran and Britain, with W. Averell Harriman sitting in as an informal mediator, is a misfortune for everyone concerned. For Britain it means a serious loss of profits and necessary oil supplies, a loss which will also affect the defense plans of the Western coalition as a whole. For Iran, already in a state of scarcely concealed bankruptcy,

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it may well mean the collapse of the government and violent political upheaval. That no settlement was possible even in these circumstances is sure evidence that more serious issues were involved than either side acknowledged. The technical, limited reason for the breakdown was Iran's objection to the creation of a British-controlled agency to run the oil industry. Although under the plan proposed by the British negotiator the National Iranian Oil Company would have exercised ultimate authority over operations, the agency would have had a British director and its staff would have been responsible to him rather than to the N. I. O. C.

*

THIS WAS REJECTED BY PREMIER MOSSADEGH as violating the spirit of the Nationalization Law. They also balked at the monopolistic terms on which the new British purchasing company would have operated as well as to the proposed fifty-fifty division of net profits. But behind these limited and technical objections could be discerned the overwhelming force of Iranian nationalism before which profits, efficient management, even the ultimate strengthening of Iran as a nation had to take second place. The counsel of moderates was submerged by the threats of the extreme elements, left and right, and by the popular clamor their agitation set off. But what must be remembered is that the tidal-wave of nationalist fervor in Iran was not self-generated. It gathered its present uncontrollable strength only because the Anglo-Iranian Company, in partnership with the British government, had maintained a fabulous rate of profit, had prevented Iranians from sharing control, and, in spite of a fairly enlightened labor policy, had contributed little to the country as a whole.

*

IS CALIFORNIA PART OF THE UNION? THE question is prompted by the dog-in-the-manger attitude of the public officials of the Pacific Northwest who have thus far succeeded in convincing Congress that the Bonneville-Grand Coulee power lines of the Columbia River Basin should not be linked with California's Central Valley system. The plan is as simple as this: a wood-pole transmission line 119 miles in length would be constructed from Shasta Dam in California to Klamath Falls, Oregon, at a cost of $6,000,000. The Northwest suffers, of course, from a daytime power shortage; but it cannot consume at night all the power generated by the Columbia River system, and hydroelectricity cannot be stored. From midnight until dawn, the water continues to pour through the spillways. Although the power transmitted to California would be excess or unused power, Governor Arthur Langlie of Washington, and others, condemns the plan as an attempt to loot the Columbia Basin of its power resources. Yet California is today the prime customer for all Northwest products, and, in a year of lush rainfall in northern California, Shasta power could be transmitted to the Northwest. Both power systems, moreover, were financed by taxes paid by the general public which is interested in the general welfare and not in regional rivalries or local politics. To date, both the House and Senate Appropriations committees have specifically ruled out funds for Intertie, as the project has been called, despite the urgent need to integrate the power resources of the strategically important West Coast states.

*

PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS IN PAWTUCKET, Rhode Island, have won a substantial but costly victory in their strike, which began last May, for a $410 annual wage increase (see: School's Out in Pawtucket, *The Nation,* June 16, 1951). Closed from that date until the end of the school year, the schools will be open on schedule. The settlement reached between the Pawtucket Teacher's Alliance (A. F. of L.) and the Pawtucket School Committee offers the teachers one of two plans both of which provide for eventual $400 wage increases, with the maximum schedule being lifted from $4,000 to $4,800. Besides raises in both pay and maximum salaries, the teachers won assurances that there would be no discharges except for incompetence. During the strike, the chairman of the School Committee announced the dismissal of 22 supervisors and principals and a plan to drop 75 teachers from the payroll as an "economy move." All have now been reinstated.

*

FOR THESE CONCESSIONS THE TEACHERS PAID a rather high price—a four-year "no strike" clause—but the new agreement will provide for substantial arbitration procedures. Measures to curb strikes of public employees will probably be introduced in the Rhode Island General Assembly despite the fact that the strike has been settled. Governor Dennis J. Robert is known to favor such a scheme. The settlement agreement, however, would seem to be far more satisfactory than any special legislation. It provides that the teachers and the superintendent shall have a week in which to settle formal grievances. The next court of appeals is a joint body, representing teachers and School Committee. If this body cannot settle the grievance in a month, the state Labor Director shall be called in. If the parties do not accept his findings and recommendations, then the grievance goes either to a Superior or a Supreme Court Justice who shall decide the issue with help from a representative of the teachers and a representative of the School Committee. Meanwhile, the schools must remain open for the duration of the particular school year. Had this arbitration procedure been available, possibly Pawtucket's teachers would never have struck.

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Appointment As Reward

TRADITIONS which establish routes of normal accession to high office often serve as deterrents to the graver abuses of the spoils system in politics. There is doubtless some merit, for example, in the fledgling tradition, first recognized in the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, that the incumbent Attorney General should be assumed to hold a prior lien on a Supreme Court appointment. Offhand one thinks of Justices Murphy, Jackson, and Clark who followed this route to the Supreme Court. Three appointments hardly constitute a tradition but they do establish a trend. Before this trend ripens into a tradition, the implications should be carefully explored.

From the practical point of view, the presence of two or more former Attorneys General on the court creates the serious likelihood of many decisions, in important cases, in which only eight or less members of the court participate. This not only impedes the work of the court but it deprives litigants, and the public, of the right to decisions by the full court. A member of the court who has served for some years as Attorney General must nowadays decline to take part in a significant array of important cases. On the other hand, if a former Attorney General is not overly scrupulous in interpreting or fixing the boundaries of disqualification, he can bring the entire court into disrepute. In the opinion of many lawyers, for example, Justice Clark should have disqualified himself in the Los Angeles county loyalty case.

The situation which suggested these comments illuminates the nature of the problem. An answer has just been filed in the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee case in which the Department of Justice has reasserted the right to list organizations as "subversive" without giving the organizations a hearing or other requirements of due process. Yet when this same case was before the court last spring four, and possibly five, members of the court indicated that some form of prior hearing was essential (see: Most Evil Censorship, *The Nation*, May 19, 1951). Yet the Department of Justice has now proceeded to restate the position which it argued, and lost, in the Supreme Court last May. Moreover, on the new appeal which is now certain, a four-to-four stalemate may be anticipated since Justice Clark, as a former Attorney General, has already disqualified himself and Justice Burton's deciding opinion was based on a narrow technical ground.

But there is a much graver aspect to this new tendency. Should appointment to the Supreme Court be regarded as a "reward" for services rendered by an Attorney General to a particular Administration? Is the assumption that a faithful carrying-out of various disagreeable chores and assignments will win the "prize" of appointment to the Supreme Court likely to inspire courage and independence in an Attorney General? Why should so large a section of the press and the public have assumed that Judge Medina and Thomas Murphy were "entitled" to judicial appointments in return for their services in the Foley Square and Hiss prosecutions? Such a notion not only degrades the office but lowers the standard of performance by lower court judges and law enforcement officials. And where extremely "flexible" personalities are involved, it can debase the administration of justice.

Candidates for appointment to the Supreme Court should be tested by the most severe standards of competence and integrity and fair-mindedness and not in terms of partisan loyalty or services rendered an Administration in any capacity. The next appointment should go, therefore, to a lawyer or judge who has a better claim to be considered for the office than a vague right of succession or as a matter of "reward" for loyal services to the Administration in power.

Asia's "Hot Corner"

London, September 1

ALMOST unnoticed in the discussion of the Japanese treaty conference is the significance of the invitation extended to the French-sponsored Indo-Chinese states (Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos). The British press, for example, barely announced the visit to London of the American Minister to Indo-China and has kept silent about having endorsed the invitation and about its implications. However, in a front-page editorial on August 22, the well-informed *Le Monde* of Paris insisted that the three states were expected to fill the gap left by India, whose "reticence" is "troublesome" to Washington. *Le Monde* also accepts the likelihood that those who sign the Japanese treaty, including Indo-China, will become part of an anti-Communist Pacific coalition "whose leadership will inevitably be taken by Japan."

Strategically Indo-China would be of great importance to such a coalition not only for itself and its own resources, but because of its relation to the whole oil-tin-rubber area of Southeast Asia. Bordering on Communist China, it provides a test of Peking's intentions. It will also test America's ability to encourage anti-Communist resistance in a colonial Asian country still struggling for independence without itself assuming the liability of supporting a colonial power.

Confronted with the danger that an armistice in Korea might free large forces of Chinese Communists for action elsewhere, the French government has not known just what to do. France can neither win nor extricate itself gracefully from the Indo-Chinese war. To hold its present position it must spend $3 million a day, a third of its military budget. To fight effectively, it would have to rely more and more upon the United

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States, a most distasteful choice for a colonial power. This dilemma has produced contradictory policies. For Washington consumption, the French attitude is to raise an alarm about the increased threat to Indo-China and the need of more aid to France to defend it. Its private attitude is to seek, if possible, some settlement with Ho Chi-minh. But here the Cabinet comes up against the same old obstacle, namely, Ho's demand that all French troops be withdrawn from the country. This would mean, of course, the quick collapse of the Bao Dai regime.

Despite its uneasiness, France does not expect the Chinese to attack Indo-China unless they are seriously provoked. Hence its concern that Washington may want to turn over to Chiang Kai-shek some 11,000 Kuomintang troops which, having escaped into Indo-China, were disarmed by the French and interned on an island off the southwest coast. Major General W. C. Chasé, head of the United States military mission in Formosa, was planning to fly to Saigon in July to negotiate for the release of these troops but his trip was indefinitely postponed, presumably because the French objected.

When General Jean de Lattre de Tassigny comes to Washington this month at the invitation of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, he will doubtless request a formal American guarantee in the event of Chinese intervention in Indo-China. He will also want more jet fighters to add to the B-26s and napalm bombs already supplied, and he may suggest a general political-military pact in Southeast Asia. *Le Monde's* Washington correspondent warns, however, that Washington will demand in return a French promise to put the whole Indo-Chinese question before the United Nations. Should it be necessary to send troops to Indo-China, Washington would like to make sure, according to *Le Monde*, that they would go under the aegis of the United Nations. Such a proposal, however, would meet strong resistance for the French government has always maintained that the U. N. has no business in Indo-China.

The invitation to the Bao Dai government to the San Francisco conference was intended in part to persuade Bao Dai's subjects that he does have sovereign power. But surely the Vietnamese judge their country's status by who controls its military, police, and economic affairs —still French colonial officials and army officers—and not by whether it is invited to an international conference to sign a document previously agreed to by the French Foreign Office.

As for the Americans, they can have no illusions whatever about the strength or stability of the Bao Dai regime. The New York *Times* correspondent described Saigon last February as "a political vacuum." "There is still no assembly," he wrote, "no constitution, no budget . . . the French still administer the country."

TO ENCIRCLE PEACE

"NOW SOMEONE TO JOIN HANDS WITH THE EXTREMES"

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The Battle Bill

BY A. J. P. TAYLOR

Holywell Ford, Oxford

THOUGH the Battle bill itself has not attracted much attention in England, it provides a symbol with which to try to explain once again the different ways in which the two great Anglo-Saxon communities look at the present situation in the world. There is a substantial minority which thinks, with Representative Battle, that we should sever all relations with the Soviet Union and every other Communist country except Yugoslavia. Since war is already raging, they would act in warlike terms, thinking only of winning the general war when it comes. There is a tiny minority on the other side which would like to weaken our ties with the United States and in some ill-defined way follow a policy of neutrality which would be friendly to the Soviet Union. The vast majority of British people, however, want to keep the United States as friend and ally without having the Soviet Union as enemy.

Rightly or wrongly, the economic problem is still primary for British people; and the problems of war and strategy are in the background. The United States has a vast export surplus; we have a hard and ceaseless struggle to balance our international accounts. The gravest difficulty in that balance is the dollar gap; everything we can get from elsewhere lessens that gap. If we were to follow the dictate of Representative Battle, we should increase our dependence on America and thus be the more exposed to the next Congressional whim. After all, what do you want us to do? This country has made greater and more successful efforts than any other to end its need for Marshall aid; we could not have done it without trade with the rest of the world, including Eastern Europe. What is more, we have to increase our market in these countries, if we are to have any hope for the future. The British government has to strike a balance. It has cut off weapons of war to countries in the Soviet bloc and reduced the export of many strategic materials; but it has also to think of our economic position both now and in the future. And it is the British government which, in theory at any rate, still decides British policy.

The Soviet bloc of satellite countries has to obey the dictates of Moscow; the Western community is an association of free sovereign states in which matters are decided by discussion. When Moscow in 1947 ordered Poland and Czechoslovakia to withdraw from the discussions of Marshall aid, we saw there the decisive proof that the Communist bloc was a Soviet dictatorship. Stalin warned the Czechs that, if they accepted Marshall aid, they could expect no further economic or military help from Russia. What is the Battle bill but Stalin's threat in reverse? The friends of America here and elsewhere in Western Europe have always argued that, although America is overwhelmingly strong, she will not abuse her power as the Soviet Union has done. She will respect the sovereignty of her allies and get her way by discussion, not by threats. The Battle bill is proof to the contrary, a justification of all the Communist suspicions of American policy. It is always tempting for the great and distant Power to imagine that it has entered an alliance solely out of magnanimity—to protect others without any motive of self-interest. We made exactly the same mistake before the last War. We thought that we could pick and choose whether to defend Czechoslovakia, Poland, or France. We discovered our mistake only when these countries were overrun by the Germans. Now we intend to defend our democratic freedom and our national independence from the Soviet empire; and we are devoting proportionately more of our resources to this defense than any other country in the world. But we do not intend to defend them against Soviet Russia at the price of surrendering them to someone else. The British people have learnt from long experience that the best way to have faithful allies is to trust them; the Americans have now to learn the same lesson. Certainly America offers much in the way of resources to her allies in Western Europe; but we offer much to the United States.

WE OFFER the shield which stands between America and Russian power; we offer the bases which more than double the effectiveness of American airpower; most of all we offer ourselves. British people have no illusions about the next war if it comes. They stand in the front-line; and they know that, whatever the outcome of the war, this island will be utterly destroyed. Winston Churchill quotes in his latest volume what he wrote in 1943: "a third struggle will destroy all that is left of the culture, wealth, and civilization of mankind and reduce us to the level almost of wild beasts." That is the universal opinion in Great Britain.

This is the basic difference of outlook. Americans are beginning to regard a third World War as inevitable and are only concerned to win it when it comes. The object of British policy is that it shall not take place. It

A. J. P. TAYLOR, well-known British scholar, has a review elsewhere in this issue of The Nation.

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will not be an agreeable world when we have to live indefinitely side by side with the Soviet Union; we think that it will be better than the world after a new war. Nor do we think that war can be averted solely by being stronger than the Soviet bloc—though certainly it is likely to be provoked by our being weaker. It can be averted only by superior policy; and an essential part of that policy is to detach the Soviet satellites from their allegiance to Moscow. Tito's revolt was the greatest blow that Moscow has had in the post-war years. It cannot be claimed that British or American policy did anything to bring it about. Quite the contrary, our wrongheaded attitude over Trieste seemed designed to force Tito into Moscow's arms. Now we should aim at new Titos—in Poland, in Czechoslovakia, above all in China. Economic ties between the Soviet satellites and the West, far from strengthening the Soviet empire, threaten to disrupt it. Nor is this true only of the satellites; it is true also of the Soviet Union itself. This country and the United States have both tried the policy of economic blockade in the past, when the Soviet Union was much weaker than it is now. We did not recognize the Soviet Union until 1924, America not until 1933. The only result was to turn the Soviet Union in on itself, to make it more suspicious of the rest of the world, and to make it rely on Communist revolution as its greatest weapon. We believe that prosperity is the greatest enemy of communism; this is just as true on the other side of the Iron Curtain as on ours. The Communists put up the Iron Curtain; it should be our object to tear it down. Hence, in the eyes of many British people, the folly of stopping young people from attending the Berlin rally; hence the folly of the Battle bill. These steps play the Communist game and confirm the Communist thesis; there is rejoicing in Moscow whenever we put up the Iron Curtain on our side. That should be enough to condemn them.

At the end of the war we and the United States and many other countries set up the organization of the United Nations. We mean to stick by it; and it is our greatest charge against the Russians that they do not. Once we accepted the United Nations, we accepted the obligation to be bound by its decisions and not to impose decisions on our own. At the present time British troops are fighting in Korea for the principle of the United Nations; they are not fighting for American strategic interests in the Pacific. If the United Nations after free discussion were to resolve on a blockade of China or of the Soviet satellites in Europe, we should enforce the decision, though we deplored it. But our obligation is to the United Nations, not to the United States; and we believe that the United States has accepted the same obligation. We look with horror at the prospect of a world, divided into two armed blocs, one under the control of Moscow, and the other under the control of Washington; and we shall do all we can to ensure that such a world never comes into existence.

We want to defeat communism; and we want to do it without war. We believe that it can be done if Americans show the wisdom and restraint which we showed when we were the leaders of the free world. Freedom would be meaningless if everyone did the same thing. Like everything else, freedom has its price; that price is that the other man does things which you do not like—and that you let him.

Africa: Emergent Colossus

BY BASIL DAVIDSON

Pretoria

IF POINT FOUR is going to capture the imagination of Africa," remarked a leader of the militant African Congress, "then it will have to mean more than partnership between white and white, which is what it means now. It will have to mean partnership between white and black, and that we don't see a sign of." He began to talk about the British ground-nuts scheme in East Africa, the proof, in African eyes, that current "development schemes" may help the white man but are not intended to help the black. I remembered what a British scientist had told me after visiting the ground-nuts enterprise before its failure was apparent. This scientist had discussed with one of the leading administrators of the scheme what the consequences of it might be for the local—that is, the African—population. "Y'know, old man," the administrator said, "the natives 'round here are really most dreadfully badly off. They're miserably hungry. I really think, y'know, that we'll have to give them some of our ground-nuts."

In a continent where the standard of living is for the most part below the subsistence level, the imperial powers are still thinking in terms of exploitation, of extraction, not of genuine development. If they were

BASIL DAVIDSON, author of "Germany, What Now?" is a staff correspondent of the New Statesman and Nation. *He visited Spain last year at the request of* The Nation, *and wrote a series of articles which appeared in December, 1950, and January, 1951.*

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thinking of the welfare of the natives, Africans argue, they would raise wages, build cheap housing, gradually eliminate color bars instead of constantly reinforcing them, undertake the technical training of African labor. They would, for example, grow ground-nuts to relieve African, not European, malnutrition. Eventually there might be enough for both purposes, but the soil of Africa, argues the African, ought first to nourish its own people.

This is a point which cannot be brushed aside. Unless development is merely camouflage for imperialism, it must raise standards of living as well as output. In 1913 the average monthly wage of natives working in the goldfields of the Witwatersrand was 52 shillings. In the next thirty years or so native productivity—the amount of rock crushed per miner—trebled and perhaps quadrupled. Meanwhile the value of the pound sterling fell to a tenth of what it had been. You might expect therefore that wages on the Rand would be twenty or thirty times what they were in 1913. Actually the average monthly wage today is less than 80 shillings. Many Africans know this little fact. They also know that improved methods of extraction have increased the percentage of recovery from 60 to 90 per cent during the same period.

In the copper belt of Northern Rhodesia, a British protectorate governed from Whitehall, the average monthly wage paid in 1940 to African underground workers was 33*s.* 2*d.*; in 1950, with copper prices touching unheard-of heights, this figure had risen only to about 73*s.*—and to that level only because the British Colonial Office had encouraged the formation of African trade unions in Northern Rhodesia. White miners, however, earn an average of £150 a month!

At the tobacco sales in Fort Jameson recently, prices reached the unprecedented level of 90*d.* a pound. Yet the Africans of Southern Rhodesia are not permitted to grow this crop, which is a monopoly of European settlers.

THE most striking change in tropical and southern Africa during the last ten or fifteen years is the awakening of Africans to the fact of their exploitation by the whites. For a long time the process went on under the surface of consciousness; within the last year or so it has flared up into open discussion. The grant of self-government to the Gold Coast and the steps toward it in Nigeria, in contrast to the deepening repression in South Africa and the continued inertia in the British protectorates, are having a catalytic effect. Africa is emergent—an emergent colossus.

It is easy to see why Africans are skeptical and even hostile about development schemes, whether under British agencies or within the framework of Point Four. The British Colonial Development Corporation, a government-sponsored and financed organization of large resources and even larger ambitions, proceeds serenely upon its way, raising or trying to raise poultry in the Gambia, ground-nuts in East Africa, cattle in Bechuanaland—and always as if the inhabitants of the region were merely incidental and, really, would be better out of the way. Very rarely do any of these schemes presuppose the close collaboration of the Africans themselves. Very rarely do they seem designed to lift the Africans to a higher level of civilization.

But it is civilization that the Africans are after. No matter where you go in central or southern Africa you find that the people are perfectly willing to endure hardships and hunger if they can only get themselves somehow into the modern world. They understand quite well that as long as they remain in their present primitive state they will never be able to claim the white man's heritage. They want education and will go to incredible lengths to get it. There are always more applications from pupils than places in the schools.

Paradoxically, the situation is worse in many respects in the British protectorates—Bechuanaland, Swaziland, Basutoland, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, some of the East African territories—than in the Union of South Africa. Hateful as is the repression in South Africa, the African can at least get an education there, and, still more important, he can go to the towns and enter industry, and thereby throw off his backwardness. The British, it is true, have conserved their territories while the South Africans have ruined theirs; but British conservation is the kind that stagnates, that seems content to allow the territories to remain primarily reservoirs of immigrant labor.

The contradictions of British protection are perhaps most apparent in Basutoland. After the Boers had robbed them of their rich plains lands, the tribes which later formed the Basuto nation retreated to the mountains and in the sixties of the last century asked for and obtained British protection. With the discovery of the goldfields in the eighties, the British clapped on money taxes which the Basuto could not pay if they stayed in their villages and which forced them to go as migrant workers to Johannesburg. Today it is reckoned that about half the adult male population of the nation is working or has worked in the mines. In 1935 the British became alarmed by the rate of soil erosion and took measures to stop it. The soil has been saved, but there is still no *development*. There is not a single factory in Basutoland: all the goods the people have to buy are brought in from outside and sold by white traders, who make enormous profits. The social pattern of Basuto life, the level of civilization, has scarcely changed in the past three or four decades.

In Bechuanaland the Colonial Development Corporation has lately undertaken to spend a little money on

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"development." An extensive "ranching scheme" is now going into operation in the northeastern part of the territory.

At first sight it looks like a laudable project, but it has not gained the support of many Africans for the reason that it is being undertaken in a part of Bechuanaland where the population is very sparse. Thus the scheme has not enlisted the active cooperation of the Bechuana people; their job is simply to supply labor. And yet, as the Bechuana chief, Tshekhedi Khama, has written, "a tribal community has immense possibilities for cooperative effort. The structure of cooperative farming already exists in a tribal society; it does not have to be created from scratch. Various village groups already hold land in common, and their cattle graze in a common area, thus paving the way for the establishment of cattle-improvement schemes, cooperative dairying, and the like."

The Western powers can accomplish the development of Africa, as distinct from another bout of imperialist exploitation in a new form, only on one condition—that they take the Africans into their schemes on the ground floor and use their projects to open to Africans the gates of civilization. Twenty years ago such a statement might reasonably have been dismissed as mere rhetoric; today the situation is different. And it is different not only because Africa is going through a period of awakening but also because the white economy of Africa, at long last, is entering upon the Industrial Revolution. Within ten years the number of Africans employed in non-mining industries in the Union of South Africa has more than doubled. Salisbury in Southern Rhodesia and Lusaka in Northern Rhodesia, little farming capitals in 1939, are today in a fury of industrial development. Dozens of new factories are going up; white immigrants are coming into Salisbury at the rate of 500 a month. New social patterns are lagging behind these economic changes but cannot be indefinitely delayed.

The investment of American capital in Africa could change the face of the continent. But it must be investment of a new kind—investment that proposes to civilize not to exploit the peoples of Africa.

Oregon Goes to the Dogs

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Portland, Ore., August 31

OURS is a staid and pious community. One cannot buy a highball or cocktail anywhere within its sixty-seven square miles. Even private clubs are forbidden to sell hard liquor. Punchboards and slot machines have been driven beyond the city limits. What passes for a strip-tease on local stages would hardly turn a head along a California beach. Not yet has a Portland store merchandised a Bikini bathing suit. "No market," explain the modistes. Billy Graham, the sin-chasing evangelist with the Barrymore profile and the ice-cream suit, packed his biggest crowds in Portland. The city ranks near the top in church attendance.

Yet Portland is a haven for pari-mutuel gambling. No other city in the country has a race track operating practically in its downtown business district.

For sixty or seventy nights each summer Portlanders mob the Civic Stadium seeking to wager $250,000 between sundown and midnight on the speed of a kennel of greyhounds. A church gets in trouble if it stages a bingo game in Portland, but a strange collection of doubtful characters find the city a lush and reliable source of race-track dividends. In the state of Washington, which by contrast with Oregon seems a very Babylon, the sum of $4.90 per capita was wagered in 1950 through pari-mutuel windows as compared with $9.45 in Oregon.

The Kefauver committee, in its report, wondered why law-abiding, solid communities let themselves in for a rage of gambling which breaks up homes and drains family bank accounts. Oregon, and in particular Portland, provides an answer. Through a cynical political deal struck with the state's dominant agricultural population, race tracks have been able to operate profitably and with the full protection of the law. To make matters still better for the tracks, all other types of gambling have been closed down. This obligingly funnels all itchy dollars into the pari-mutuels. In addition, the legislature has specifically ordered Portland's city government not to touch a single cent of track revenue. The municipality cannot even tap the till to make the track pay for police expenses connected with the racing and gambling.

Yet the flourishing race tracks are owned by promoters living far from Oregon's boundaries, while the cigar stores which have lost their punchboards and poker games are for the most part owned locally.

Pari-mutuel racing became legal in Oregon in 1933. Rural legislators, who always have run the show at the Capitol, were restive at first. The powerful state Grange had opposed gambling and drinking with equal fervor.

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The Methodist Church had many members in agricultural counties. Ex-Governor Jay Bowerman, attorney for prospective greyhound racing interests, conceived a brilliant plan. Why not split the state's 2½ per cent of the total pari-mutuel "handle" among the thirty-six county fairs? What better way to neutralize the traditional rural conviction that gambling is immoral? Just to reinforce the track's clutch on the back woods, the Pacific International Livestock Exposition and the famous Pendleton Round-Up were also cut in for a share of the proceeds.

Since racing was legalized in Oregon, the county fairs have received $66,000 apiece out of the take. The best year was 1947, when each of the three dozen fairs collected $12,186; the current season is expected to produce at least as much. This is a bonanza to an institution which ordinarily struggles along on 15-cent admissions. The round-up has received $88,000, and the Livestock Exposition $594,000. Whenever the track feels shaky politically, some other agricultural event is given a ticket on the gravy train. In 1947 the legislature included the Pacific Coast Turkey Show and the state Corn Show. Behind the protective aegis of these carnivals, where the farmer displays his Herefords and Percherons and Netted Gems, race tracks have toted money out of Oregon in wholesale quantities for nearly two decades.

The capitalization of the Portland greyhound tracks is represented by 1,250 shares, of which only 55 are held in Oregon. Wallace Turner, crime reporter for the *Oregonian*, estimates that Artie Samish, swaggering king of California lobbyists, has realized a return of 70 per cent annually on an original investment of $3,200. Small wonder that Samish told the Kefauver committee he considered this distant dog track "a wonderful operation"! J. Howard Quinn, described by the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* as holding "widespread interests in gambling in Illinois and Missouri," is another investor in Portland greyhound racing.

Portland has never been a resort town. It is no Miami or Reno or Saratoga Springs. The money poured through the pari-mutuel windows does not come from well-heeled tourists but from the wage-earners of the community. The track operates at night when the working man is free to sweeten the pot with his pay. It is within walking distance of Portland's apartment houses and cold-water flats. On a typical evening the crowd is full of people carrying children. Why not save the baby-sitter's fee to bet on a likely quiniela?

ALL this has a terrific impact on the economic life of the city. When the gambling is going full blast, so are the collection agencies. People behind on their doctor's or grocery bills often show up in the pari-mutuel lines. Many merchants detect an immediate slump in payments when the greyhounds start running. A nightly "handle" of nearly $250,000 in a non-resort community can only be taken out of the goods and services produced by residents. The movie business falls apart when the track is going strong. The baseball park is virtually empty.

Why doesn't Portland do something about it? The answer is that the race tracks have built up an irresistible phalanx of beneficiaries. Oregon's politicians don't dare oppose this array. When bills appear in the legislative hopper to outlaw the pari-mutuels, the track lobbyists beckon to the hinterland for help. Into the Capitol building trudge county-fair boards, the officers of 4-H clubs, rodeo riders, livestock exhibitors, and spokesmen for the big farm organizations. The effect is crushing, particularly in a legislature deliberately gerrymandered to give rural areas far more representation than their population justifies.

The gamblers realize that this agricultural support is their strength. Two years ago an effort was made to put the state's share of track revenues in the general fund. If special interests no longer fought for them, the tracks knew their days would be numbered. One of their chief sponsors, state senator Tom Mahoney, chairman of the Oregon delegation to the 1948 Democratic Convention, eloquently opposed any suggestion that the fairs and livestock shows remove their tin cups from the pari-mutuel trough. Several rural Republicans protested tearfully that fine 4-H clubs would wither and die if the gambling money were denied the fairs.

The track owners have a tight grip on Oregon politics. Employees of the tracks obtain their jobs on the recommendation of members of the legislature. Of course, the recommendations must be in writing, and the member then is properly hooked. Although Oregon is a Republican state, the track is non-partisan. For a period Jimmy Richardson, manager of the stadium where the dog races are run, served as treasurer of the Oregon Republican Central Committee. On the other hand, a recent bill giving the pari-mutuels a larger share of the take was enthusiastically supported by seven of the nine Democrats in the state Senate.

Oddly enough this bill was passed at the height of the excitement over the Kefauver committee's revelations. A distinguished Republican ex-Governor, Charles A. Sprague of the Salem *Statesman*, publicly called upon Governor Douglas McKay to veto the bill. But McKay signed it a few hours after it hit his desk. The episode demonstrated the hold of racing on presumably pious Oregon.

Horses as well as dogs are raced in Portland but the horses gross barely 25 per cent of the total raked in by the greyhounds. The location of the track is probably the principal reason for the difference. Since dogs can race on a much smaller oval, the track could be built in the center of Portland, while the horse track has to be a considerable distance out of town. As in the case of the

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dogs, the promoters of the horse racing come from outside the state. Their rivalry with the dog-track people shows why horse operators were so active in the 1946 referendum which kept dog racing out of California. Greyhound pari-mutuels are legal in only seven states.

Portland has an honest mayor who would throw out the race tracks if she could. Her name is Dorothy McCullough Lee, and she has been a leader in such causes as civil rights and public housing. Mrs. Lee has made it clear that in closing down 10-cent pinball machines and at the same time giving police protection to multi-million-dollar race tracks, she is only enforcing the anomalous law passed by the state legislature. The legislature, in turn, has seen to it that she can neither tax the tracks for city purposes nor regulate their operations in the community she administers.

The triumph of the pari-mutuels in Oregon represents a great chance lost for the Democratic Party, which has been a minority in the legislature since 1878. The Republicans are responsible for the free rein given the tracks. Unquestionably a majority of the people do not like what is going on, but the bribes which the pari-mutuels toss to the agricultural fairs inhibit any action. Instead of making the tracks an issue, the Democratic politicians in the state try to outdo the Republicans in giving the race-track gamblers whatever they want.

Voices, however, are being raised, regardless of the fairs and the round-up. Bishop Gerald Kennedy of the Methodist church is a fighting churchman who does not believe that the small subsidies given shows of farm products justify the raids of out-of-state operators on Oregon wallets. Other ministers are calling on the Grange to speak up. Strong pressure is being exerted on the Democratic Party to shake off the legislators who sully the party with their support of dog racing.

Few citizens are unaware of the effect of pari-mutuel gambling on the community. The *Oregonian* recently reported a holdup attempt in a residential neighborhood. The threatened couple gasped to the gunman, "But we've just come from the dog races and we haven't any money at all!" The gunman accepted the explanation and faded into the blackness of the night.

I'm a Baptist, Too

BY WILLSON WHITMAN

Ridgecrest, North Carolina

THAT the Church of Rome is out of favor with this country's Southern Baptists may seem to be no news. It's what many people in the North, with the usual tendency to generalize about the Bible Belt, would expect.

If you know the South, however, you don't generalize. You know that Baptists take pride in differing among themselves, that the Southern Baptists don't belong to the Federal Council of Churches, that they might well pass over certain important issues of the day in continued emphasis on other issues of concern to them. When a group as numerically important and financially strong as the Southern Baptists lines up against the hierarchy's assumptions of power, at the same time distinguishing clearly between political and spiritual power, it is noteworthy. When the same group backs up its stand with financial sacrifices amounting to millions of dollars, then it's news.

Southern Baptists today are in a position to consider large sums of money for the first time in their history. Always a large group, they used to be hard up because their membership included so many sharecroppers and mill hands. During World War II not a few of these brothers moved into better paid war jobs and many of them, even before they bought TV sets, contributed to the church.

But the war changes brought new issues. Some of the younger church leaders are looking at social problems, at current legislative trends, at the state of the world in general. This summer the Social Service Commission of the Southern Convention and the Baptist Joint Conference on Public Affairs sponsored a joint Church and State Conference as part of the annual Conference on Christian Living held at Ridgecrest, North Carolina. Ridgecrest is a good place for discussion. Some years ago, Southern Baptists lifted their eyes unto the hills and picked themselves a cool vacation spot in a fold of the Blue Ridge just above Asheville. At Ridgecrest more than fifteen hundred people can be taken care of in a hotel building, dormitories, and cottages, and fed in a big dining room. The white-columned buildings are handsome against green trees and a backdrop of misty mountains, although you may hear it said deprecatingly that the Presbyterians over at Montreat have more impressive structures of fieldstone.

But Baptists today are a fair cross-section of prosperous America. Most of them drive to Ridgecrest in their

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own cars; a few fly there. The conference is one for ministers and serious church workers, not for laymen. Among the men, preachers predominate—friendly preachers, puzzled preachers, handsome preachers who might have been actors, preachers managed by their wives. There are more women than men because the conference has courses for church librarians, hostesses, handicrafters and Sunday school teachers; and these extra women plus wives make the ratio what it usually is in religious gatherings. But, as usual, the men run things.

ALTHOUGH this is an old-fashioned religious group meeting for religious purposes, you might be at any Southern resort. It's true that the women wear skirts instead of slacks or shorts. There is little or no smoking and, of course, no drinking. There is grace before meals and hymn singing—and an occasional peal of bells. But the crowd is relaxed and happy. There is plenty of Southern food—hot biscuits and pork chops, grits and gravy, greens, black-eyed peas, peach pie, with preacher's fare—fried chicken and ice cream on Sunday. The youngsters from Baptist colleges who wait on tables are pleasant and polite. They enjoy mountain hikes, tennis, swimming, and amateur theatricals (the plays are religious, of course) and no doubt the love-making appropriate to a church picnic.

The Church and State Conference was the highbrow feature of the program. The Social Service Commission was represented by its chairman, Dr. J. B. Weatherspoon of Louisville, and by its executive secretary, Dr. Hugh A. Brimm—both men concerned with current events in race relations, labor, and world affairs. The Joint Committee on Public Affairs, with headquarters in Washington, was represented by Dr. J. M. Dawson, its executive director. Other conference leaders were drawn from the theological seminaries—Dr. Walter Pope Binns, president of William Jewell College at Liberty, Missouri; and Dr. T. B. Maston, professor of Social Ethics at the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth. An audience of fifty to a hundred from all the regions represented at Ridgecrest attended the conference sessions, and nearly a thousand people heard Dr. Glenn L. Archer, executive director of P. O. A. U. (Protestants and Others United for Separation of Church and State) speak on "Church, State and Freedom."

The local paper's treatment of Dr. Archer's speech was a revelation to many who heard it and were unfamiliar with standard copy-desk handling of any outspoken criticism of Catholic politics. Ridgecrest's reporter duly supplied the Asheville *Citizen* with Dr. Archer's speech and the paper correctly quoted its theme statement: "The real issue in the country is not whether we shall yield to Communist totalitarianism—we are well aware of its dangers to freedom and are prepared to resist them—but the chief single issue is whether we shall compromise with a clerical totalitarianism which parades as the only enemy of communism, and is now selfishly exploiting American fear of communism with evil results to freedom." But the *Citizen's* headline was "Archer Flays Communistic Moves in U. S."

At the next session of the conference Dr. Dawson called attention to the misleading headline and also reported as pertinent to the discussion his own reason for arriving a day late. In Washington he had testified at a Senate committee hearing on H.R. 2094, the Hill-Burton bill, which would appropriate $35,000,000 for a health center and $12,000,000 for Roman Catholic hospitals in the District of Columbia. Speaking for the nation's sixteen million Baptists, Dr. Dawson argued for the separation of church and state that is Baptist doctrine as well as part of the American constitution. More, as all the conference speakers pointed out, Baptists have proved their sincerity by refusing tax funds where they were available. Texas Baptists rejected $3,000,000 in government money offered for hospitals. Alabama turned down $2,000,000 for a hospital in Birmingham. When hospital trustees in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, accepted $600,000 the state convention raised the money and returned it to the government.

These specific actions speak more loudly than any words to prove that Baptists mean what they say about the separation doctrine. For the sake of consistency they are willing to discuss the taxation of church property; although most of them feel that property actually used by a church should be tax-free, they agree that income-producing property should be taxed. There are, of course, as many attitudes in these matters as there are individual Baptists, and this, they say, is in keeping with the Baptist ideas of liberty. They don't want a central authority to enforce uniformity in the church, any more than in the government. No formal resolutions were passed by the conference, although a committee, headed by Dr. Weatherspoon, was appointed to draw up findings.

IN DISCUSSION from the floor questions were freely asked and it was interesting to see the strength of individual conviction against the political methods of an authoritarian church, always with the proviso that personal religious convictions were not involved. "This is a serious inquiry, pursued without venom, not to flay the Catholics," said Dr. Weatherspoon at the start. Over and over it was emphasized that any attack on the political aims of the Church of Rome must be divorced from religious prejudice; although Dr. Dawson, from experience, warned that Catholics unaccustomed to the idea of religious liberty might well prove incapable of grasping this distinction, crying "bigotry!" at any political opposition.

There was great interest in the popularity of Paul

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Blanshard's "American Freedom and Catholic Power," and there were questions from the floor regarding the present status of *The Nation* in New York schools—nothing so delights an intelligent Southerner as an exhibition of narrow-minded provincialism in the North.

Continuing his let's-look-at-it-from-the-other-side attitude, Dr. Binns asked at one point a question rarely posed in religious circles: "What about the man who doesn't believe in God at all, but wants the good of his social group?" The concern of the church, it was agreed, is the competence of the individual, not his control from without. Let the state make laws and enforce them; the church must persuade.

To this fundamental divergence from Catholic dogma was added, as discussion progressed, awareness of wide areas of conflict with the Catholic program. Now that foreign missions are necessarily diminished, Baptists will emphasize home missions—and there the biggest field is among Spanish-speaking groups, where the Catholic influence is strongest. The Home Mission Board now puts out leaflets addressed to Catholics, on the Bible, on Purgatory and on attendance at Protestant churches.

The general agreement of the conference, arrived at ahead of committee findings, was that "people must be led to re-think the whole matter of the separation of church and state." By "re-think" speakers clearly meant no compromise on the theory of separation, but its application in current terms. The paradox is that to separate church and state, in opposition to a church that would unite them, Baptists must learn a new consciousness of politics.

IN THE discussion of actual issues this became clear. At the start of his speech Dr. Dawson was careful to ask for a showing of hands against the old intolerant spirit of the Klan, and the vote was unanimous. But there emerged, later, equal unanimity in disapproval of Franco—in an awareness of foreign affairs once far removed from the Southern mind. He told of senators afraid to oppose appointment of an envoy to the Vatican. He offered no comfort when it was suggested that communism and Catholic power might "kill each other off"—on the contrary, "The very way to lose the fight against communism is to march under the flag of the Pope."

Southern Baptist tradition is far removed from that of the Quakers, so there was no open discussion of peace as a policy; but the war policy of the United States was criticized at one point—the attempt of the state to use religion for its ends, in asking the aid of chaplains to make men better killers. There were also passing references to the courage of the conscientious objector and "of all those who suffer penalties for progress."

All this venturing into new political fields of thought is clearly a gain not only for the Baptists but for the country. An even more concrete advance may be expected if Southern churches enter upon a program of active rivalry with the Roman church in certain fields where Rome is traditionally tolerant, for example in the treatment of Negroes.

To a mind wholly outside the church there are certain questions not asked at Ridgecrest which must inevitably occur. In the scrupulous attempt to separate church and state, how careful is the separation from the power *behind* the state? Would the church turn down a subsidy from powerful private interests as virtuously as from the government? How much is the refusal of tax money attributable to fear of "the welfare state"? If it is admitted that income-earning church property should be taxed, how much is social conscience and how much is respect for private business competition? In this discussion, women seemed to oppose the church in business as money-changing in the Temple, but men appeared anxious to reassure the business man. Will recognition of Catholic bias extend to a realization that the Catholic minority originated and still employs the "smear" or guilt-by-association tactics now so prevalent? And will the corollary be understood that individuals and organizations so smeared may be not merely guiltless, but useful and indeed indispensable allies?

These questions may well be saved for another conference. Just now the Southern Baptists are going through stages familiar to every liberal: realization by a few men of the importance of certain issues; effort to state the case fairly; distortion in the press; gradual awakening of public interest. In this respect too the Ridgecrest conference is a fair cross-section of the American public.

In the Catholic controversy Baptists do have an advantage peculiar to them, and one which should not be overlooked. To many people, both Catholics and persons wholly outside the Christian tradition, there has long been a fascination in the Catholic claim to apostolic succession. Accept no substitute, runs the argument—ask for the first and only genuine church founded by St. Peter. But John the Baptist antedated Peter.

That may be why, at this time of need, the Lord has blessed Southern Baptists with an increase in membership, in money and in light. They have traveled far since the turbulent thirties when you could hear milltown preachers, paid by the mill owners, preaching damnation to all progress. Ridgecrest was a mountaintop miles above that low level, a high fortress likely to hold out against the prophecy once made in *Life* that the United States, long known as a great Protestant country, might yet become a great Catholic country. It won't happen while there are Southern Baptists in those hills. In fact, American liberals may as well join in the Broadway version of a revival hymn about the wilderness preacher—

> . . . They say he was a Jew.
> I know he was a Baptist, and I'm a Baptist too.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Biography of Disraeli

DIZZY. THE LIFE AND PERSONALITY OF BENJAMIN DISRAELI. Earl of Beaconsfield. By Hesketh Pearson. Harper and Brothers. $4.

HESKETH PEARSON has written a number of popular biographies of picturesque personages, and it is not surprising that he should have got around to Disraeli. His book makes no pretense of original research, and though it carefully eschews the lamentable devices of the fictionalized biography it is obviously intended to be read as entertainment. For all that, it is a conscientious job and as amusing as it was intended to be.

"Dizzy"—Mr. Pearson points out that he was the only prime minster of his century who won an affectionate popular nickname—achieved a career as improbable as one of his own novels. Though nominally a member of the Church of England, he was the son of a Jewish bookworm with a private library of 25,000 volumes, and from youth on he indulged in the wildest daydreams of luxury, power, and romantic ecstasy. Other men—Byron, for instance—have made successful literary careers out of a talent for such *Schwärmerei,* but in English history at least there is no other example of such successful translation into fact, for it is almost as if some Walter Mitty should finally emerge as a great surgeon or general. Everything about him was theatrical, flamboyant, and, worst of all from the Victorian standpoint, detestably foreign—from his absurd clothes to his literary style. Yet with everything against him he not only became Prime Minister but finally succeeded in playing Essex to the Victorian Elizabeth.

Mr. Pearson half suggests that it was because Disraeli was not a good writer that he found himself compelled to become what he might otherwise merely have dreamed about, and that is as good an explanation as any if one is not content to say merely that he had a genius for politics. Certainly what one remembers best from both his fiction and the history of his political activity is the "good things" he or his characters said, and he carried into political life those reminiscences of Byron as well as those anticipations of Oscar Wilde which gave color to his literary efforts. Of one of his characters he wrote: "She indeed generally succeeded in conveying the impression to those she addressed, that she had never seen them before, did not care to see them now, and never wished to see them again. All this, too, with an air of great courtesy." Of the great man himself his wife remarked: "Dizzy has the most wonderful moral courage, but no physical courage. When he has his shower-bath, I always have to pull the string."

Inevitably a substantial portion of Mr. Pearson's book is taken up with an attempt to recount in a sufficiently lively fashion the twists and turns of a parliamentary career which covered a crucial period in English history. Mr. Pearson admits that the desire to wield acknowledged power was Disraeli's primary motive, as indeed he himself admitted, and maintains that no man wholly honest, scrupulous, and idealistic can ever succeed as a politician. At the same time he insists that Disraeli wished to use his power to promote the welfare of his country and sides with him on the major issues.

Disraeli was one of those reformers who, rightly or wrongly, distrusted the exclusively materialistic, utilitarian philosophy. He was one of those possibly romantic figures who put up a losing fight against the belief that the welfare of a nation is exclusively a matter of legislation and economic organization, that if these are properly adjusted one need have no concern with religion, emotional patriotism, or loyalty to tradition. Because he lost, it has generally been supposed that he was wrong. Now that England is again in crisis it is inevitable that dissatisfied people should wish to reopen the question as Mr. Pearson does. In one of his late speeches Disraeli said that the policy of liberalism was "to attack the institutions of the country under the name of reform and to make war on the manners and customs of the people under the pretext of progress. . . . It would reduce civilized society to human flocks and herds." Mr. Pearson's comment is: "Were the speaker alive today, he would have less to retract than any other politician of the past."

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"Geographic Syria"

HISTORY OF SYRIA. Including Lebanon and Palestine. By Philip K. Hitti. The Macmillan Company. $10.

SEVEN FALLEN PILLARS. The Middle East, 1915-1950. By John Kimche. British Book Center. $3.50.

THE dynamics of the history of the Middle East derive, in no small measure, from the area's highly diversified religious and ethnic composition. Nowhere else in the Middle East is the heterogeneity as great as in that district which today comprises Syria, Jordan, Israel, and Lebanon—to list the countries in order of size. Here live side by side a dozen and more communities which have managed to preserve their identity over the centuries. Little wonder, then, that there are almost as many myths about the history of this district or some segment of it as there are ethnic, religious, and—in the case of Israel—political groupings.

One such myth holds that the entire district, set apart from surrounding territories by mountains, desert, and the sea, is really one country for which the name "Geographic Syria" has been adopted; and that the present political boundaries, fragmenting the area into four sovereign states, are therefore wholly artificial. This theory has gained nearly universal currency among Arab nationalists in the past generation, although among its non-Arab exponents is such a renowned historian as Arnold J. Toynbee. The thesis was tentatively explored several years ago by Albert H. Hourani. Now it has been taken up with considerably more erudition by Philip K. Hitti, chairman of Princeton's Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures.

The territory included within Geographic Syria can boast one of the long-

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est ranges of recorded history, dating from at least the third millennium B. C. Professor Hitti, however, pushes back even further to paleolithic times for the start of his 700-page annotated narrative, which he then carries forward through its successive phases—Biblical, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Persian, Arab, Crusader, Arab again, Ottoman, and Contemporary. "History of Syria" is a helpful reference work, particularly for information on the ancient and medieval origins of most of the communities in the district. Its value is enhanced by many illustrations and maps and by an inclusive index.

The author does not pretend that his work is even largely the result of original research. He is most intimately conversant with the rise and decline of Arab fortunes, from the seventh to the fifteenth century. In dealing with the Arab era Hitti displays a masterful command of the source materials. He brings to life the Arab conquest of Geographic Syria, its Islamization, its intellectual and cultural productivity, and its role in the development of Western civilization.

As for the rest of the book, the author is dependent on the research of others. This has indeed been prolific, owing to the unique and colorful past of southern Geographic Syria, commonly called Palestine, as the birthplace of Judaism and Christianity and the site of hallowed traditions of Islam, and to its attraction for investigation of a disproportionately large number of humanists and social scientists. Hitti has necessarily been selective, often leaving the incorrect impression that the scholars are in full accord in interpreting the extant sources. This is especially true to the Biblical period, where the author's scant references to disagreements among the authorities is a pale reflection of the actual state of Biblical scholarship.

The virtual dismissal of the past 450 years, almost as if the author believed that little worth mentioning occurred after 1500, has led to inevitable distortion. Far more complex than Hitti suggests are the problems arising from Ottoman provincial administration, the growing and changing interests of the European powers, the partition of Geographic Syria into British and French mandates after World War I, and its evolution into four independent states after World War II. Certainly the most dynamic or disruptive, depending on the viewpoint, force in the district in the past thirty years—Israel and its Zionist antecedents—deserves more than a single sentence.

The most serious weakness of the book, however, is its basic assumption that Geographic Syria is really one country. Professor Hitti himself admits that the task of keeping "in hand . . . the chronicle of significant events in the life of a country which had been normally the adjunct of other states" confronted him with "a major problem." He might have added, as Toynbee had earlier observed, "Since the dawn of . . . [Syrian] history in the fourth millennium B. C., there was no record of a political frontier which had embraced the whole of Syria, and nothing but Syria, in a single sovereign state." Hitti's own work amply confirms this generalization.

In sharp contrast with the scope and method of Hitti's study is Jon Kimche's "Seven Fallen Pillars," which, despite its misleading subtitle, is essentially devoted to an appraisal of developments in the years following World War II. As Reuters' roving correspondent in the Middle East in this period, Kimche possessed a master key to the offices of government spokesmen and leading foreign observers in each of the region's countries. He gathered useful information but lacked historical perspective for balanced interpretation and patience or time for indispensable background research. As a result the book is studded with needless errors.

Here is a random sampling. The evacuation of British and Russian armed forces from Iran in 1946, Kimche asserts, was effected on the basis of an American suggestion. In fact, the Soviet action was not taken until the Security Council had reviewed the question and the Russians had violated the terms of the Anglo-Soviet-Iranian treaty of alliance of 1942, which laid down that British and Russian troops were to be withdrawn within six months of the end of World War II. The production of American-owned oil companies in the Middle East, declares Kimche, overtook in 1949 that of their British and other rivals. This will probably occur for the first time in the current year and then only because of the expropriation of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's concession. Even less pardonable are such mistakes as the garbled paraphrase—forming the basis of a key argument—which completely alters the meaning of the original but is presented as a quotation from the abortive Anglo-Iraqi treaty of 1948.

Kimche's volume purports to treat international and intra-regional politics in the post-war Middle East. But the author shows no grasp of American, Soviet, French, or United Nations policies and activities in the area; and for the most part his handling of local poli-

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tics is little more than a repetition of well-worn clichés.

Still, the book has its merits. Many of Kimche's intuitive judgments are surprisingly persuasive, despite the erroneous details in the supporting evidence. The author is at his best in analyzing the British Labor government's policy on Palestine, the reasons for its failure, the temper and resolve of the Palestine Jewish community in the last three years of the mandate, and the inherent drama in the rise of Israel. Indeed, on Palestine and Israel, Kimche has reinforced his intuition with carefully sifted facts to produce a story which is well-balanced, closely reasoned, often original, and always incisive.

What, then, is the conclusion that may be drawn from the works of Hitti and Kimche? Perhaps it is as simple as this: the Middle East is an area that baffles the experts as well as the public.

J. C. HUREWITZ

No Illusions: And No Ideas

IN DEFENSE OF THE NATIONAL INTEREST. A Critical Examination of American Foreign Policy. By Hans J. Morgenthau. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

YOU remember the story of the emperor and his fine clothes. Everyone bowed before him and praised the wonderful way in which he was dressed until one day a little boy called out, "But the emperor has no clothes!" The sequel to the story is not so well known. The little boy was congratulated everywhere for his stern realism and in no time became a professor of political science. The emperor lost his job. No one pointed out—perhaps no one noticed—that though his clothes were certainly not studded with jewels, he was in fact wearing a neat gray suit and a clean shirt, complete with collar and tie.

Mr. Morgenthau has cast himself for the role of the little boy; and the Administration takes a rough handling as the emperor. "No clothes! no clothes!" he cries. He attacks American foreign policy as utopian, sentimental, legalistic. Once it thought it could do nothing; now it thinks it can do everything. He wants it to give up the illusion that it can run the whole world strictly according to American ideals; instead it should go back to the realities of power politics. The object of foreign policy should be the defense of the national interest, neither more nor less.

The theme is not so new as Mr. Morgenthau makes out. Though he quotes only Toynbee and Winston Churchill, plenty of modern writers have emphasized the dangers of utopianism in foreign policy. I remember a wise little book on this topic which Carl Becker wrote during the war. Most historians and political observers would agree that power is the determining factor in international relations. But it is dangerous to define power too narrowly. Ideas are also a form of power; and the national interest is best secured by having ideas on your side. Mr. Morgenthau admires Metternich; it was ideas that brought Metternich down. The idealist Gladstone defended British national interests better than Disraeli, when he backed national freedom in the Balkans; just as the idealists who opposed Munich were shown to be better patriots than Neville Chamberlain, who carried it through. At the present time, if the British people came to believe that there was nothing to choose between America and Russia from a moral point of view, it is by no means certain that they would choose America from any other. It is the best form of realism to have superior ideals.

However, let us meet Mr. Morgenthau on his own ground. Can either the analysis he makes of the situation in the world or the policies that he advocatse pass the test of realism? His picture of the world is simple—a conflict for world-mastery between Russia and America. No one else counts: Luxemburg and Great Britain, China and Siam, you can write them all off. Moreover, this is a straight struggle of empires; communism and democracy have nothing to do with it. Like most realists, Mr. Morgenthau vastly overrates the material strength of the Soviet Union. He says: let the Soviet Union stand for seventy, then the United States is one hundred. The real proportion is more like seventy and seven hundred. It never occurs to him that the key to the Soviet policy is fear of a power ten times stronger than they are. And he understands still less that communism is the principal Soviet asset. If the Czar still ruled Russia, the balance of power would be already in complete collapse; the whole world would be at the disposal of Washington. That is why it is possible to be devoted to American ideals—and even to care for the American national interest—and yet to desire the reemergence of powers independent of the United States. For the real problem in the world is not the overwhelming power of the Soviet Union. It is that the Americans have this overwhelming power and do not know what to do with it.

Mr. Morgenthau conducts his analysis with realism, even though it is faulty. When he gets to policy, then he is as idealistic as the next man: his policies, like everyone else's, are pious wishes. In Europe he wants a "deal" with the Russians, a partition into spheres of influence. This is sensible as a practical step; not so sensible when he implies that it will be more than a modified version of the cold war. Whatever the bargain, neither side could disarm; for that matter, no serious disarmament is ever possible in a world of sovereign states. Moreover, no bargain can stop Communist propaganda on the one hand or the attractions of freedom for those under Communist tyranny on the other. "Peaceful competition" between the two take them at their word, but without illwe had any faith in democracy we should take them at their word; but without illusions the competition would be fierce.

Late in the day Mr. Morgenthau himself arrives at this conclusion. The real battle, he admits, is for the minds of men—but only in Asia. This is certainly topsy-turvy realism. Europe, the origin of all modern thought and still the greatest concentration of industrial power, has to be treated solely as an object of power politics and partitioned. Asia, where men have hardly begun to think in modern terms, has to be the field of ideological battle. Yet the Russians are strongest ideologically in Asia and strongest materially in Europe; therefore, according to this realism, we should fight them on ground of their choosing.

The truth is that Mr. Morgenthau, like all realists from Metternich onward, is a system-maker. Foreign policy will not satisfy him unless it is universal. A more realist approach would forget all about the struggle for the world and set its attention on the problems as they

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turn up. For example, if we could settle the German problem, there would be peace in Europe for a long time; if we could settle Korea and Formosa, there would be peace in Asia—until the next explosion. But to do these things America needs a German policy, a Korean policy, a Formosan policy; instead it follows the rule of thumb of merely doing what will annoy the Russians most. In fact, the Russians dictate American policy by opposites. Let American policy make up its mind what it wants positively, for itself, in a given place at a given time; forget about the Russians and world hegemony; and we shall all have an easier time of it. Looked at from this point of view, official American policy is not very realistic; but it is more realistic than Mr. Morgenthau's.

A. J. P. TAYLOR

Basis of Soviet Conduct

THE OPERATIONAL CODE OF THE POLITBURO. By Nathan Leites. A Rand Corporation Research Study. McGraw-Hill Book Company. $3.

THE making of the foreign policy of any great power is an exceedingly complex business which cannot be explained exclusively on any one basis. Dr. Leites does not pretend to provide a complete study of the bases of Soviet foreign policy, although the publisher's blurb implies the contrary. With becoming modesty Dr. Leites says only that this book is a preliminary report on one aspect of party operations. Within the limits set, it is a competent and highly useful work. The general reader will find it a clear exposition of basic principles; the professional student of the Soviets, a convenient summation.

In twenty brief "chapters" Dr. Leites has grouped what he calls "general rules of Bolshevik conduct" together with specific illustrations. Some of the "general rules" are direct quotations of specific instructions given by Lenin or Stalin; others are paraphrases of Leninist-Stalinist doctrines. An example—very timely at this moment of truce talks in Korea—is the material given under the chapter heading Deals:

1. Any agreements between the Party and outside groups must be regarded as aiding the future liquidation of these groups and as barriers against the liquidation of the Party by them. . . . Therefore there is no essential difference between coming to an ostensibly amicable arrangement with an outside group or using violence against it; they are both tactics in an over-all strategy of attack.

This, somewhat abbreviated, is a "general rule." It is supported by a quotation from Lenin's speech on concessions to foreign powers—a speech in which Lenin said: "It would be a great mistake to believe that a peaceful agreement about concessions is—a peaceful agreement with capitalists. This agreement is equivalent to war. . . ." Upon the basis of this and other "rules" and examples Dr. Leites concludes:

> These attitudes imply that a "settlement" with the Western Powers . . . is inconceivable to the Politburo, although arrangements with them, codifying the momentary relationship of forces, are always considered.

Some reviewers have dismissed "The Operational Code of the Politburo" as a misleading oversimplification of Soviet policy-making. This criticism is tenable only when directed against the publisher's blurb. Leites does not claim to have told either the whole story of Soviet policy-making or the whole story of Bolshevik rules and conduct. The material which he sets forth is undeniably one of the major bases, if not *the* major basis, for Soviet conduct, and as such it is of the greatest importance. The danger that Leites's shortened and elliptical presentation may be misleading—on the theory about the danger of a little knowledge—can be minimized by a careful reading of his introduction.

WARREN B. WALSH

Voyage of the SS Branten

20TH MERIDIAN. By Robert Travers. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.

THE title of this exciting novel represents that point in the North Atlantic where merchant ships were most defenseless during the last war, too far from either England or North America for aerial aid against submarine attacks. The SS. Branten, sullenly steaming towards that isolated area, is an old German tub that has been pressed into convoy service, manned by a fairly typical merchant crew, and loaded for the return voyage from London with a cargo of Scotch whisky.

The cargo is in its symbolic way as explosive as the blockbusters that the *Branten's* sister ships had carried on the easterly convoy, for in the midst of a bitter storm several of the thirsty crew break open a hold where the whisky is stored. The bosun's gang is ordered by the Chief Mate, a reformed dipsomaniac tortured by the knowledge of the exposed cargo under his feet, to secure the cargo and batten down the hatch regardless of consequences. These struggles together with the storm result in the Branten's becoming separated from the convoy in the worst area of the North Atlantic and while submarines are picking off vulnerable members of the huddled group. It is a situation calculated to make anyone bite his nails.

This reviewer sailed the North Atlantic during the war and may have been particularly affected because this novel brought back a rush of memories. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that Mr. Travers knows the sea, ships, and the kind of men who sail them. Most

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of all he knows how to build tension and how to convey with scrupulous accuracy an atmosphere compounded of misery, suspense, and the struggle of ill-assorted men against human and natural enemies.

There are inadequacies in his novel —it begins and ends with an arbitrary abruptness, and the seamen are sketched in with a kind of impressionistic swiftness that rarely goes more than skin deep and hardly aids the development of the story—but the voyage of the SS Branten is a memorable one, and it leads us to hope that we may hear more from Robert Travers in the future.

HARVEY SWADOS

Verse Chronicle

YOU will find signs of literary influences—mostly good ones, Blake, Hopkins—in the "Selected Poems" of Richard Eberhart (Oxford University Press, $2.50). You will also find a kind of refractory originality, bent on expressing its compulsions and visions in rhythms which are counterpointed and sprung, sometimes almost to the limits of doggerel. As are, for that matter, the rhymes now and then; but one never can feel quite sure whether what looks like gaucherie and gaffe may not be intended for ironical effect. The dominant tone of Mr. Eberhart's poetry is intellectual, or it may be spiritual; his epithet tends rather toward the abstract. To say that I prefer the more sensuous This Fevers Me or When Doris Danced to the more typical manner of The Soul Longs to Return Whence It Came or The Moment of Vision is perhaps to indict my own taste as much as to pronounce judgment on Mr. Eberhart's work. Reading his book, as distinguished from reading its several poems, one comes to the conclusion that Mr. Eberhart is not a very companionable poet; his "I" is not, nor meant to be, Everyman, nor maybe even Any Other Man; so the atmosphere, while not exactly lunar, for it has some vegetation, is still a little chill and dry, not enough people around.

The selection of James Hearst's poetry entitled "Man and his Field" (Alan Swallow, $2.50), is, on the other hand, downright folksy, easy and pleasant-going, especially if you do not want to fly too high, and not without a hint or two of scariness, as in Snake in the Strawberries.

In the earliest of Herbert Read's "Collected Poems" (New Directions, $3) tendrils of the Georgian cling to the imagist framework, and later, when Mr. Read gets around to repainting the trellis pure white he has been a little desultory in using the wire brush to prepare the foundation. The deeply felt war poems, it seems to me, slide down in the direction of verse, or, at worst, prose; the satirical poems are very gentle indeed. A quiet excellence is Mr. Read's best quality; this speaks often in the lyrics, whose concentration gives them something close to intensity and informs the longer metaphysical works, so that, while there is no great tension here, there is reasonable support and sustenance.

"The Irish Poets of the Nineteenth Century" (Muses' Library Series: Harvard University Press, $2.50) seem, on this evidence, to have been a rather literary lot, all too respectful, more shame to them, to the contemporary English fashion. It is true that the bright needles of their own way can be found in these formidable haystacks, but there is a good deal too much of this sort of thing

O, strew the way with rosy flowers,
And dupe with smiles thy grief and gloom,
For tarnished wreaths and songless hours
Await thee in the tomb.

as distinguished from

May the hearth-stone of hell
Be their best bed forever!

The collection is edited by Geoffrey Taylor, who devotes most of his space to the work of seven poets—William Allingham, J. J. Callanan, Aubrey De Vere, T. C. Irwin, J. C. Mangan, and J. F. O'Donnell. There are biographical and bibliographical notes on these, as there are on some thirty lesser figures, each represented by two or three poems on the average. Among these is William Larminie, who is of interest, says the editor, for his Gaelic use of assonance in English verse. But not of sufficient interest, apparently, to be represented by samples of such usage; I have the idea that Larminie is given rather scanty treatment here.

For readers interested in the work of very young poets two recent books seem worth mention: "First and Last Poems," by Michael Sloane (Fine Editions Press, $2.50), and "The Toy Soldier," by Donald C. Reaser (Exposition Press, $2). Mr. Sloane's book is a posthumous collection, for the young poet died at eighteen as the result of an accident on a glacier in Austria. Mr. Reaser, a veteran of Company F, 395th Infantry, won the Hopwood Award at the University of Michigan.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IN HIS book on Mozart Dr. Alfred Einstein, seeking possible models for Mozart's first quintet, refers to Boccherini, "the fame of whose quintets began to spread through the world in the late 1760's," and remarks concerning the category of quintet with two violas that "Boccherini himself apparently did not write quintets for any other combinations of strings: he does indeed call the second viola 'alto violoncello,' but its part is notated in the viola clef throughout and is almost unplayable on the violoncello." These statements were aptly characterized, in a letter from Charles B. Farrell, as error typical in, among other things, "the bland serenity of its assertion within the aura of a mighty reputation"—a reputation, he might have added, that is considered to make a statement of sources unnecessary. But from Farrell's letter it was evident that the sources had not included the primary one, Picquot's book, in which the date of composition of the first set of those quintets that had become famous in the late 1760's is given as 1771 and the date of publication as 1774, and in which Picquot, who knew 112 of Boccherini's 113 quintets, describes them constantly as works for two cellos, as do Boccherini's autograph catalogue and the title pages of the early editions that Picquot cites. Farrell transcribed the title page of the edition of Janet et Cotelle, which contained the statement "La Partie de premier Violoncelle peut etre remplacée par l'Alto Violoncelle," for which the edition provided an additional part—this part for "alto violoncello" having been, then, merely the publisher's ar-

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rangement for viola (hence the viola clef) of the original part for first cello, a device to increase the usefulness of the edition. And Einstein doesn't seem even to have taken the trouble to speak to a cellist, who—according to Farrell who *had* taken the trouble—would have told him the first cello part was as playable on the cello as the second cello part.

Einstein's "Mozart" appeared in 1945; already in 1948 Ulrich's "Chamber Music" cited Einstein's belief "that Boccherini's 113 quintets with two cellos are actually for two violins, two violas, and one cello; the 'alto violoncello' part is written in viola clef throughout." And the error will be picked up by the next writer from Ulrich, by one writer after another from his predecessors—the result being another of the countless examples of the *fable convenue*, as Ernest Newman has called it, that becomes our knowledge of all the matters we cannot possibly learn about through our own investigation. This was the process which produced the myths about Berlioz and his work that are still current many years after they were corrected by Wotton and Turner (and note that we were in no position to determine by our own investigation the credibility of Wotton's and Turner's statements).

So with the famous critic Hanslick. We have got our ideas of him not from our reading of his reviews but from our reading of what has been written about his reviews by writers whose knowledge was acquired in the same way as ours. However, we have also read about them in Ernest Newman's "Life of Richard Wagner," whose documented text has supported his claim to be replacing *fable convenue* with the facts established by first-hand examination of source material. And we have therefore had confidence in his statements that the vogue of Hanslick's "fluent, superficial journalism" resulted from his "presenting the reader with bright reading matter that had a minimum of connection with the work of art under discussion"; that "there was hardly a contemporary work of genius or high talent in connection with which he did not demonstrate . . . the limitations not merely of his intellect but of his taste—from 'Tristan' to 'Aida,' from 'Carmen' to 'Die Fledermaus' he was consistently wrong"; that as one of the Viennese critics who "distinguished themselves by the fatuity and the malice of their remarks on [Wagner's] concert" in May, 1872, "Hanslick sagely opined that if all operas were to be composed in the style of 'Tristan' their audiences would soon be in the lunatic asylum, whither they would be followed by the conductors and the orchestral players if these made a habit of the Wagnerian elasticity of tempi."

But now a volume of Hanslick's articles, "Vienna's Golden Years of Music" (Simon and Schuster; $3.75), gives us the opportunity to learn about them for ourselves. And we discover that they are indeed fluent, graceful, urbane, and witty, but in the formulation of judgments which reveal great knowledge and understanding and thorough preparation (*e. g.*, by study of the scores of new works) in support of excellent critical perception that is in close contact with the music. Like most critics—and most people—he is out of phase with certain minds and their manifestations in art: the composers of program music, the mature Wagner, Bruckner. But if this makes him incapable of appreciating even the lovely things in "Die Meistersinger," a listener of today finds him accurately perceptive about the wearisome declamatory style, the absurd philosophical pretensions, the horrible verbal jargon of the other mature works; and what he says about Bruckner's symphonies describes what one has heard in them. There is nothing about "Carmen" in the book; but there are articles on Verdi's Requiem and "Otello" which reveal not only full recognition of Verdi's powers but accurate understanding of them and of their development. To the contention that "Otello" shows the influence of Wagner he replies that mere examination of the score had convinced him that "there is not a scene, not a measure, for which Verdi owes any obligation to the composer of 'Tristan und Isolde,'" and Boito and Ricordi confirmed this subsequently by telling him Verdi had heard nothing of Wagner's after "Lohengrin." "Otello," he says, represents only the further development of Verdi's own powers and style: "The sharp, challenging rhythms and melodies of his first period ('Nabucco,' 'I Lombardi,' 'Ernani') are more rounded in his second ('Rigoletto,' 'Il Trovatore,' 'La Traviata'). In 'Aida' and 'Otello' they achieve noble simplicity"; and whereas "Otello" has more fidelity to the text "Aida" has more beautiful melodic ideas.

The rest next time.

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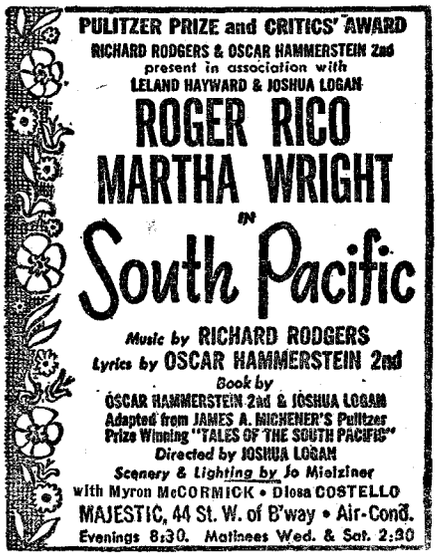
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Letters to the Editors

An Elephant's Tail

Dear Sirs: When Hart Stilwell calls us in his article, "Why They Cheat," which appeared in the August 18 issue of *The Nation,* "a nation of people who can think only at a typewriter and who use whiskey as a substitute for conversation when they meet socially," he is rather like the blind man who felt the elephant's tail and reported that the elephant was somewhat like a rope.

HELEN BUGBEE

Chicago, Ill.

Minority Rights in India

Dear Sirs: I am one of 36 Muslim members of the Indian Parliament and am at present visiting the U. S. on the invitation of the World Assembly of Youths, which met at Ithaca (N. Y.) recently.

In the short time I have been here, it has pained me deeply to observe that even intelligent people, like journalists and public leaders, over-simplify the current tension existing between India and Pakistan as a Hindu-Muslim problem. They forget that there are 40,000,000 Muslims who, even after partition, live in India as full citizens. Their rights are protected by the constitution, they have the fullest confidence in the fairness of their Hindu brethren. In short, India, like the United States, is a secular state where followers of different religions enjoy equal privileges.

Let me make it clear that the Pakistani *jehad* (holy war against non-Muslims) will be a war against the whole of India. The 40,000,000 Muslims of India will resist the Pakistanis with all their might. The Indian Muslims have never subscribed to the theory that Hindus and Muslims are different nations because of a difference in religion.

I say with full responsibility that Pakistan is not interested in the welfare of the 40,000,000 Indian Muslims, nor is she any more interested in the welfare of the 3,000,000 Kashmiri Muslims. She wants to occupy Kashmiri territory to improve her own position. She first tried to grab it by force, and when the attempt failed, she raised the religious issue.

If Pakistan is determined to protect the interests of the Muslims in Kashmir and India, I want to know why she does not express the same concern for the freedom-loving Pathans who are fighting for their independence. Their beloved leaders, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib, have been kept in prison since the establishment of Pakistan.

I want to express my agreement with the memorandum submitted by 14 prominent members of my community to Dr. Frank Graham last week. I fully subscribe to their view that: "Our interests and welfare do not coincide with Pakistan's conception of the welfare and interests of the Muslims in Pakistan."

Our religious and cultural life is protected in India, and we stand to share in the opportunities open to all citizens.

Not many people here know that despite the continuous provocation, first from the Muslim League and since then from Pakistan, the Hindu majority in India has not thrown us—or members of other minorities—out of the civil service, armed forces, judiciary, trade, commerce, business or industry.

There are Muslim ministers in the federal and state cabinets; Muslim governors, Muslim ambassadors representing India in foreign countries and fully enjoying the confidence of the Indian nation; Muslim members of Parliament and state legislatures; Muslim judges serving on the Supreme Court and the High Courts, and high-ranking officers in the armed forces and civil service, including the police.

Muslims have large landed estates; they run business and large commercial houses in various parts of the country, notably in Bombay and Calcutta. They have a share in industry and in the export-import trade. Most of the famous Muslim sacred shrines and places of cultural interest are in India.

The hope of the Indian Muslims is that Pakistan will stop meddling with our affairs.

M. I. ANSARI, M. P.

Washington, D. C.

Greek Political Exiles

Dear Sirs: I have just returned from a visit to my son on the island of Eustratios where he is confined with 3,600 other political exiles who were banished from Greece in 1945 and 1946 for refusing to swear that they were not communists or anarchists. The great majority of the exiles are either teachers, lawyers, engineers or physicians. Not one of these men was given a trial. They were exiled by a so-called Citizen's Committee on evidence submitted to it by the police which they were never given the opportunity to refute. Not one of these men has a criminal record. The only crime they have committed was to stick by their beliefs and stand up for their right as citizens to criticize their government. Both the men exiled on Eustratios and the women exiled on Trikeri are suffering terribly from the want of food and adequate shelter because they have no way of supplementing the meager government allotment which isn't enough to buy them one meal a day. Why should these men and women, many of whom have contributed so much to the welfare of their country and who could serve as the core for a truly democratic Greece, be treated so?

NICHOLAS KATAKALON

Salonika, Greece

Request for Alinsky's Speech

Dear Sirs: Thanks for publishing the excellent and stirring tribute to Dean Thompson by Saul Alinsky in your Letters to the Editor column which appeared in the August 4 issue of *The Nation* under the head Civilization's Cross.

I should like to send it on to the Washington *Post* with permission to reprint it.

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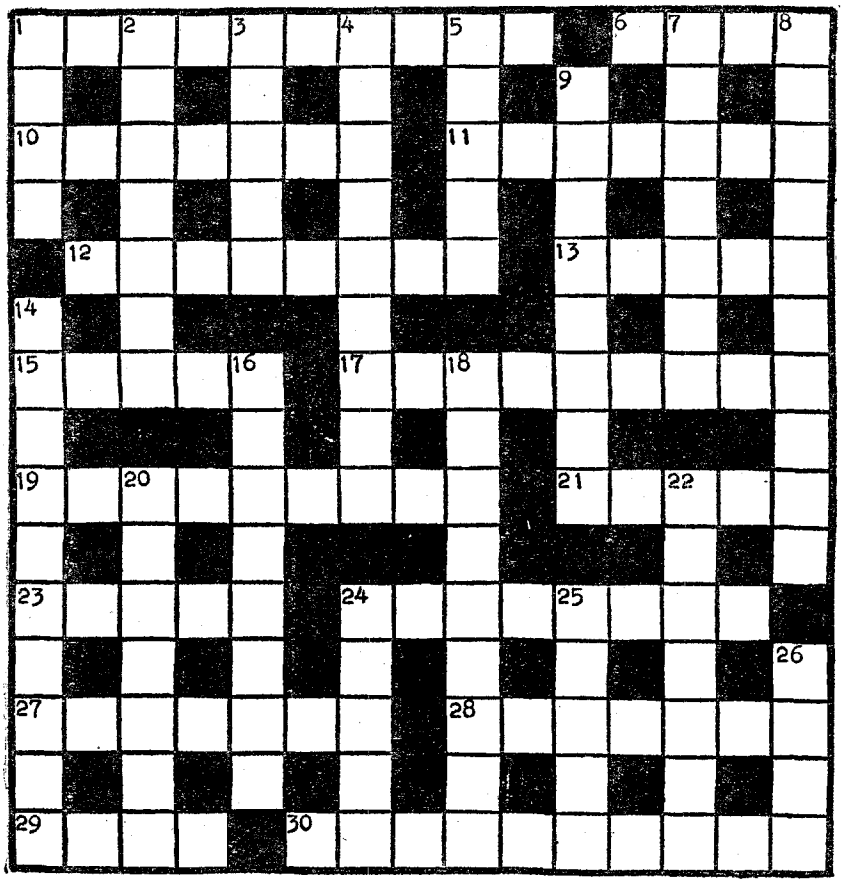
Crossword Puzzle No. 429

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Where these puzzles go? (10)
6 A chemist makes nothing but trouble when the cloud lifts. (4)
10 and 26 down. Sow this? It's in the bag! (1, 3, 2, 1, 4)
11 The worth of a man's years, after proper deductions? (4, 3)
12 All but open boats might. (8)
13 The state of boots, flies, and mercenaries. (5)
15 Half this is out of more than one race. (5)
17 One of those taking ways, incidentally. (2, 7)
19 Orders a complete course, perhaps. (9)
21 Not an egoistic speaker! (5)
23 A cruel way to cause 6, perhaps. (5)
24 Lives and orders sometimes appear so. (8)
27 You'll get the measles, if you try to massage a girl! (7)
28 If you make arrangements, you might give her the air. (7)
29 Skin this! Superficially! (4)
30 When it comes to this, our kids have it on us! (10)

DOWN

1 See 24 down.
2 and 9. Beheaded, Hugo's workers would be tankers. (7, 2, 3, 3)
3 "....What pain it was to drown:
What dreadful _____ of
waters....." (5)
King Richard III
4 Sections of this at one end of a spur. (5, 4)
5 The anointed are probably well. (5)
7 Double-decked basket? (7)
8 An entertaining way of asking not to get in. (10)
9 See 2 down.
14 See 24 down.
16 How to get control of a corporation? (8)
18 After speed, obviously! (9)
20 Not a simple A. B. C. love word (7)
22 Come off it! That's not the way to prepare for competition! (7)
24 1 down, 14 down. Report of a Caesarean operation. (1, 4, 1, 3, 1, 10)
25 Is one a minimum of 24 inches tall? (5)
26 See 10 across.

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 428

ACROSS:—1 MUSICAL CHAIRS; 10 HOUSTON; 11 ARAMAIC; 12 SOLDERING; 13 THYME; 14 NO FAIR; 16 ENERVATE; 19 THANKFUL; 20 EFFECT; 22 JOSEF; 23 GUNCOTTON; 25 CLARION; 26 DURANTE; 27 EFFERVESCENCE.

DOWN:— 2 USUAL; 3 IN THE NICK OF TIME; 4 AENEID; 5 CHARGING; 6 A MATTER OF COURSE; 7 READYMADE; 8 CHESTNUT; 9 ACHE; 15 FLAGSTAFF; 17 EXTENDED; 18 TURGENEV; 21 ANODES; 22 JACK; 24 TONIC.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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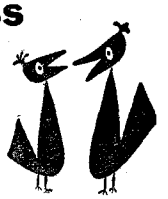

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